1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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in the diagram is the primary section of Reng, the Kong and Dhilleak divisions of which have clan nuclei of different origin to the other sections.

In all these tribes and tribal sections there is much admixture of lineages in communities. The same conditions are found in the Zeraf valley and also, and perhaps to a larger degree, in Western Nuerland. Nuer say that feuds and quarrels between lineages chiefly led to their dispersal, and they can cite many examples. Thus the descendants of Nyang–Thiang left the other sons of Thiang and joined the people with whom they form the Gaagwang tribe, and the NYARUNY lineage left their kinsmen of the Thiang primary section and joined the Reng primary section of the Gaajak tribe. After fights, a whole community, led by its dominant lineage, may in this way move to a different section or tribe and take up permanent residence with them. Migration led to further dispersal, since some lineages remained in the homeland to the west of the Nile and others crossed the Nile and Zeraf and settled to the east of these rivers. Nuer say that in the earliest stages of the migration the warriors used to raid Dinka and return home to their kinsmen after each raid. Then they settled to the east, but kept in close contact with the people of their lineage to the west. But as they shifted farther away the contact lessened and finally, in most cases, ceased altogether. When lineages migrated they must already have been nuclei of heterogeneous accretions and not exclusive groups of agnates: but admixture was no doubt hastened and made more complete by movement.

Two factors other than migration, quarrels, intermarriage, &c., have probably contributed to the dispersal of lineages. The Nuer are mainly a pastoral people with dominant pastoral interests and do not feel themselves bound by economic necessity or by ritual ties to any particular spot. Where his cattle are is the Nuer's home; his hearth is the droppings of his cattle and his altar a light pole (*rick*) which he plants wherever he may wander. The spirits which give him protection and the ancestral ghosts that watch over his welfare are no more bound to the soil than he is and they are present wherever are the herds. Beasts dedicated to ghosts and spirits are his wandering shrines. Also the Nuer have no organized cult of ancestral ghosts. The dead

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
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throughout that period. This area is known as the *toic*,[1] and is of value for reasons other than pasture, for the pools and lagoons are full of fish which provide an important item of diet at that time of the year. These conditions determine the seasonal migrations of the Nuer in search of pasture for their cattle, cultivation, and other activities which are part of their economy.

Physical conditions varying from thick bush country, sandy ridges, open grasslands stretching mile after mile with scarcely a tree to break the horizon, to marshland and papyrus swamp, are found in all parts of Nuerland. In the Zeraf Valley, a few miles west of that river, there is a long and almost continuous ridge where the Lak, Thiang, and a few of the Gaawar have their permanent villages. The banks of the Zeraf are high and well defined in its lower reaches, and in some places villages are built close to the river's edge, but to the west the country tails away into swampier ground until it reaches the papyrus swamps of the Bahr el Jebel. A large proportion of Lak country and part of Thiang is covered with acacia bush, land which provides only poor grazing and an abundance of biting flies such as the striped *tabanids* which are the agent through which direct infection of trypanosomiasis is conveyed. For this reason Lak country is considered poor for cattle. The area on the east bank of the Zeraf is occupied by the majority of the Gaawar and is much less densely populated. High ground is more limited and dispersed, and the people have to contend with serious floods in their permanent settlements, but such conditions produce more plentiful grazing. In the east is the Duk Ridge, a series of sandy outcrops running parallel to the river about forty miles inland. This area was densely populated in Dinka times and in the early stages of the Nuer invasion, and it remains a refuge for the Gaawar in times of heavy flood. In the exceptional floods of 1917–18, which the Nuer refer to as *pilual*, the Duk ridge was packed with refugees fleeing from the rising waters.

The country occupied by the Lou Nuer has all the characteristics of Gaawar country, though the better drained land on which they build their villages is more concentrated, and there is no perennial river running through it. A few of the Lou move to the Sobat River during the dry season and many to the country bordering the Pibor River, but the rest remain along the *toics* left on the edges of the khor Fullus and its tributaries. Those who move eastwards have been something of a problem to the Administration in recent years, for there is a tendency to settle permanently in Anuak country and sometimes over the border in Abyssinia. The cause of this movement is presumably increasing population in man and cattle and the desire

[1] This word has no more precise meaning than 'marshland' in English, and is often used very loosely to describe any area which provides pasture during the dry months of the year.

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for better fishing which the rivers provide. It is also possible, and this is a Nuer contention, that the watercourses which flow through Lou country are becoming clogged with silt and vegetation, with the result that water-points dry out earlier in the year though grazing may be improved.

Eastern Nuer District, which lies north of the Sobat up to the borders of Ethiopia, is flanked in the west by the vast Machar swamps, a region which might provide plentiful grazing. In fact, the people prefer to descend to the upper reaches of the Sobat and Baro rivers, where there is not only adequate pasture for their herds, but also exceptionally good fishing and an opportunity to raise a rich crop of maize on the fertile silt left by the flood water.

This whole area, the Zeraf Valley, Lou, and Jikany Dhor, is often referred to generally as 'Eastern Nuer' in contrast to 'Western Nuer', the region west of the Nile. The latter area is known to the Nuer who live east of it simply as *kwi Kir*, 'over the Nile', but it is known that it is the original homeland of all the Nuer and is sometimes referred to as *cieng Naadh*, 'Nuer homeland', as opposed to *dhor*, 'the outside'. This distinction between eastern and western Nuer is only valid in so far as those east of the Nile are all colonizers, for though there are minor cultural differences between western Nuer and the Zeraf tribes, these do not seem to me to be any greater than are those between the latter and the Lou or the Jikany (Dhor). In speaking of the 'Eastern Nuer' therefore, I refer specifically to those people (i.e. the Jikany Dhor) who live in Eastern Nuer District, an administrative classification, and not to all Nuer east of the Nile.

Western Nuer District is divided geographically and to some extent demographically into two distinct parts. There is first the area lying north of the Bahr el Ghazal and partly west of it, and secondly the region south of that river. The difference in terrain is not very great, but whereas the people who live in the north rely on the Bahr el Ghazal itself or the rivers which flow into it, those in the south rely almost entirely on the pastures provided by the natural and seasonal irrigation of the Bahr el Jebel or by the flood waters of rivers coming in from the south-west. In the southern area are the Nuong and Dur, Dok and Aak' and Jagei. These tribes, whose permanent settlements and cultivations are on a ridge of sandy ground which runs parallel to the Bahr el Jebel, graze their cattle in the dry season along the edges of that river or along inland water systems referred to as the Bilnyang system. This system is partly dependent on spill water from the Nile and partly on water derived from a different catchment area. Hence in years when the Nile provides inadequate grazing or is inaccessible owing to heavy flooding, the Bilnyang system gives an alternative. North of these tribes are the Jikany Cieng whose country lies in the triangle formed by the intersection of the Bahr

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el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal. The Leik and Bul tribes are nearly all on the left bank of the Bahr el Ghazal, although some of them move to grazing grounds across the river during the dry months of the year.

All Nuer are compelled to migrate during the dry season and to set up their cattle-camps near permanent water supplies and where the receding waters of the rivers leave green and succulent grass for their animals. At first their cattle-camps are widely distributed over the 'intermediate' plains, but concentration increases as the season advances until, just before the break of the rains, in late January or February, all cattle are on the *toic*. The distances covered in these seasonal migrations vary considerably. Many of the Lak and Thiang Nuer, for example, move only a few miles from their permanent homes, while many of the Gaawar and Lou move eighty miles or more. These differences, however, have not affected the similarity of movements among the Nuer as a whole. The swing of the seasonal pendulum to and fro is common to all and the difference is one of distance only.

The permanent settlements of the Nuer are not concentrated like those of the Shilluk, Anuak, and some of the Dinka. A Nuer village generally consists of a number of domestic units, each having one or more cattle-byres and a few dwelling-huts, separated by distances varying from a few hundred yards to over a mile. This diffusion of dwelling-sites is partially caused by the nature of the ground, for land which is above the level of the floods is limited in most areas of Nuerland. It is, however, an inherent characteristic of the Nuer to set up his abode sufficiently far from his neighbours to emphasize and retain his individualism, yet sufficiently near to enjoy the privileges and economic advantages which neighbourhood brings. Cultivations are usually opened up in the area immediately surrounding the homestead, both for convenience and for ease in protecting crops against the ravages of wild animals and straying cattle. Fencing is impossible except in woodland areas, and is in any case a laborious process, but apart from this consideration the Nuer seems to have an intense desire to see his cultivations round his home. When the ground becomes exhausted he will move his home to a new area rather than have his gardens a few hundred yards away from it. During the dry season the settlements are partially or completely abandoned according to whether permanent water is available or not and whether there is sufficient grain to keep the older and less active members of the community. The bulk of the population always moves with the cattle, and by February there are few people left in the villages except where grazing grounds are close enough for daily contact.

The distribution of population in Nuerland is determined by the physical conditions I have described. Communications during the rains are usually difficult, and local communities, large or small, are to

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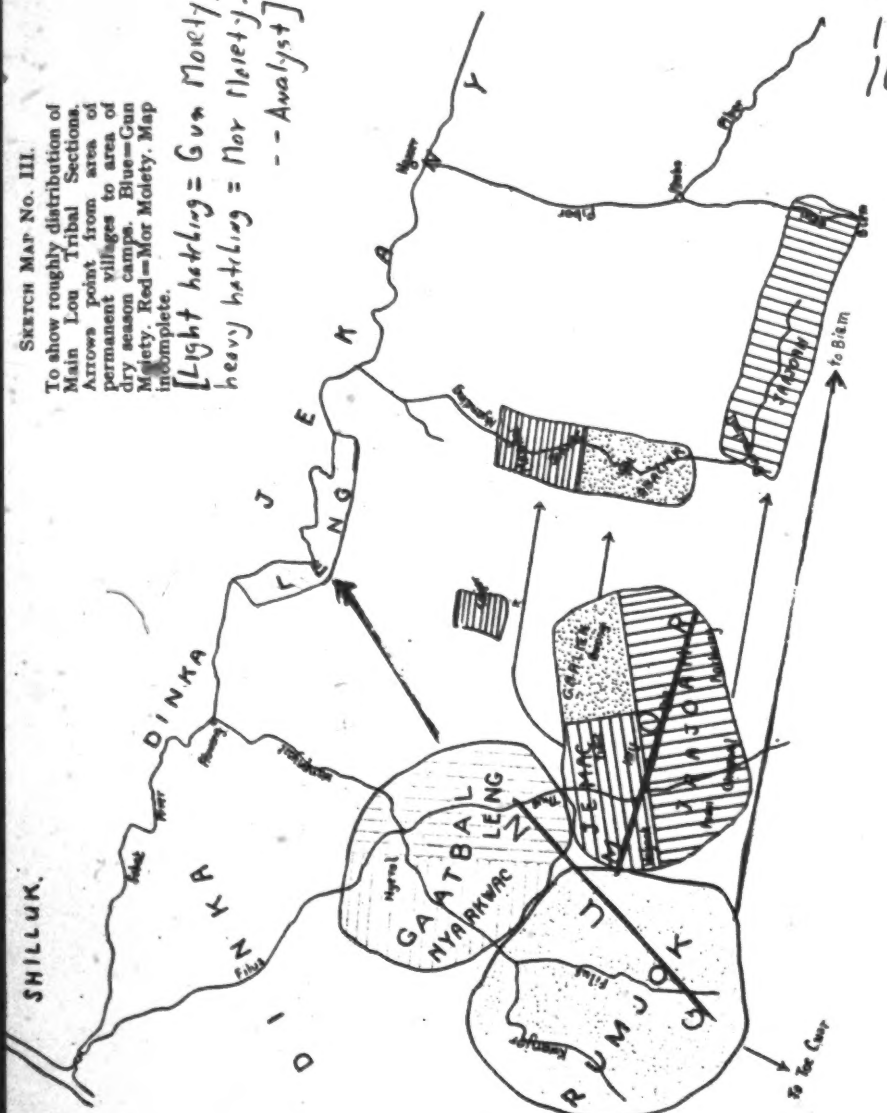
SKETCH MAP No. III.

To show roughly distribution of Main Lou Tribal Sections. Arrows point from area of permanent villages to area of dry season camps. Blue=Gun Moiety. Red=Mor Moiety. Map incomplete.

[Light hatching = Gun Moiety; heavy hatching = Mor Moiety. --Analyst]



[facing p. 10]

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
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However this may have been in theory, in practice these tribal sections were largely autonomous groups and acted as such in their enmities and alliances. At one time they would be fighting among themselves and at other times they would combine against a third party, though the combinations were not as regular and simple as they were explained to me and as I have stated them on paper. I am extremely ignorant about the history of feuds among sections of the Lou and Jekany tribes and I record here the slight data I possess on the subject. I have already referred to the feud between sections Leng and Nyarkwac of the Lou tribe. This springs out of an earlier feud between sections Thiang and Yol which once formed sub-sections of Nyarkwac. The ancestors of the dominant lineages in the Leng and Yol sections were brothers, whereas the ancestor of the dominant lineage of the Thiang section stood to these brothers in the relation of sister's son. For a long while the Yol and Thiang sections lived peaceably together, but about thirty or so years ago a feud broke out between them and the Thiang section fled, defeated, to seek protection among the Leng section. The Yol sent messengers to the Leng telling them that they were not to receive their enemies or give them a home in their country. The Leng section replied that the ancestor of the LENG lineage was the maternal uncle of the ancestor of the THIANG lineage and that they could not refuse asylum to their sister's sons. This attitude involved Yol (Nyarkwac) in a second feud, this time with a combination of Leng and Thiang.

In Gaajok country the Yol primary tribal section joined the Gaagwang tribe (who seem to have identified themselves so much with the Gaajok tribe that we may almost speak of them as a single tribe separated from the Gaajak by the wide Maçar swamps) against several (if not all) sections of the Gaajak tribe. I have a note that Yol fought Nyayan while Gaagwang fought Reng and Kang sections.

It appears that about half a century or more ago the Laang and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe were involved in a long feud and that there was warfare between the Yol and Wangkac sections. In the course of this warfare Yol were assisted by their allies the Gaagwang tribe and together they defeated the Wangkac so heavily that they moved to the far south along the Pibor river in the neighbourhood of Beirland. Here they say that they were attacked by " Turuk " and fled north again

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to the site of their old homes but were then too exhausted to resume their feud with the Yol section.

Another recent feud in Lou country was, I believe, that between Falkir and Nyajekany tertiary sections of Rumjok primary section, and there have been others between various sections of the Mor moiety, particularly between two sections of the Jimac[1].

The commonest occasions of feuds are probably related to economic activities. One section pastures its cattle on grazing grounds over which another section has rights of ownership—rights, as we shall see later, which derive from clan heritage and are divided among the chief lineages of the clan; or men of one section attempt to water their cattle at the wells of their neighbours; or there is conflict over fishing rights. For a tribe is an economic group and so is each of its sections. This is shown in map No. V, for which, together with map No. IV, I am indebted to the industry of Mr. C. L. Armstrong. The curved lines show areas of permanent villages of the Gaagwang tribe and the main sections of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, while the straight lines show the area of their dry season encampments. Map No. III was drawn up by myself after questioning Lou tribesmen and is intended to give an idea of the areas of the dry and wet season occupation of the Lou, but I was unable to visit more than a fraction of the area in person. It is, therefore, not likely to be so accurate as Mr. C. L. Armstrong's map of distribution. Both maps show the annual movement of the sections from their permanent villages to their annual watering places and pastures in the dry season. The whole of Nuer life follows the rhythm of the seasons. I will describe this rhythmic movement as briefly as possible as I hope to write a separate paper on Nuer economic life. The major parts of Jekany and Lou countries are huge, flat, treeless plains of cotton soil. Where there is a slight rise in the plain the spot is selected as the site of a permanent village consisting of well-built huts and cattle byres. Where there is a dip in the plain we find rivers, pools and swamps. The Sobat river begins to fall about December when the rains decline and as it falls it drains the streams into which it has emptied its waters earlier

[1] I take this opportunity to add a footnote to explain that I have not been consistent in my use of Nuer spellings for tribal sections and clan lineages. Thus a clan lineage may be called after a man called Kwe, but his descendants will be *gaat* kwith and his village *cieng* kwith. A clan is called after a man yi and becomes *cieng* yie, or after yoal and becomes *cieng* yol. I fear that I have sometimes used the nominative and sometimes the genitive cases. Hence on Map No. V Yoal and Wangkeac may be read as Yol and Wangkac.

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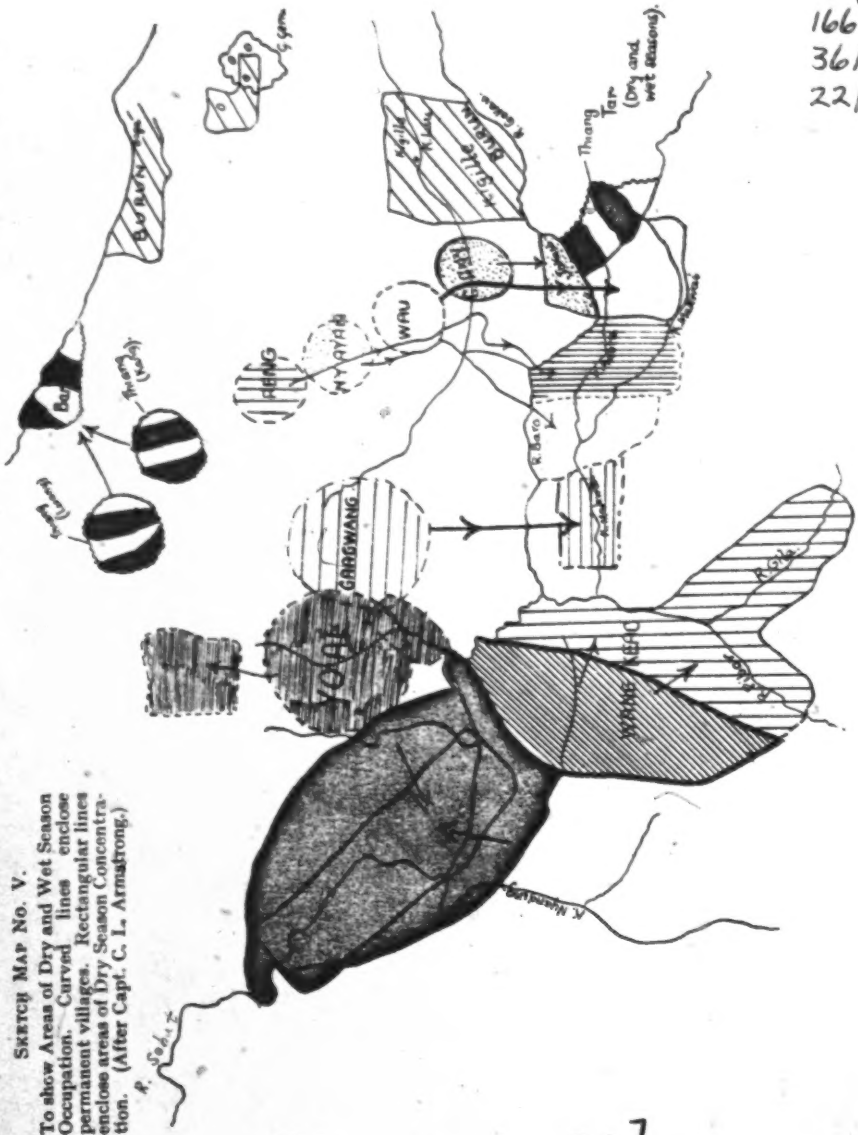

SKETCH MAP NO. V.
To show Areas of Dry and Wet Season Occupation. Curved lines enclose permanent villages. Rectangular lines enclose areas of Dry Season Concentration. (After Capt. C. L. Armstrong.)

[facing p. 30]